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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

Manioc processing, from harvest to finished product, was the work of the women. The tubers were dug up when reserves of *beijú*, or manioc cake, ran low, for the supply of manioc flour on hand was always enough for several days, but no more. The first step in the process was to scrape the skin from the tubers. This was done with a clam shell, the rough edges of which had been abraded so as to give a smooth scraping surface. The manioc was then reduced to a wet pulp by rubbing it on a grater made of wood studded with sharp bones. In order to extract the prussic acid from the bitter manioc, the pulp was placed on an open-work sieve, or *tuafi*, which was set on top of a wide-mouthed Waurá pot, and water was washed through it. The mass was then wrung out and rewashed. After several washings, the manioc was squeezed into a lump and dried on a rack in the sun. The flour (*karima*), thus prepared, was used to make the flat manioc cake or was mixed in water to make a gruel. For *beijú*, the sun-dried lumps of flour were pulverized in a large wooden mortar set in the floor and moistened, sometimes with fish juice. It was then placed on a flat clay plate (*ja'meo*) and beaten with a special wooden paddle until flat, after which it was baked. Two kinds of *beijú* were made: a thin and a coarse, thick type. *Beijú* was sometimes eaten plain, but other foods were usually heaped on top.

Manioc was also regularly consumed in the form of a thick gruel prepared by boiling the flour in water. A fibrous fruit known as *iriwa* was often boiled with the manioc gruel and imparted a prune-like taste to the dish. When drinking it, the fruit was chewed, the shells and fiber spat out. The manioc gruel (*ats aek*) was kept in the house in gourds.

Fish were roasted or boiled. Roasting was done by holding the fish directly over the flame, or by wrapping it in a broad palm leaf and placing it on a babricot over the fire. A common dish was a thick stew of boiled fish which was heaped on *beijú*. Fish was also added to stews which contained vegetables in season. Men did all the roasting in the Trumaí village, although it was permissible for a woman to help. However, most foods were prepared by boiling, and the burden of cooking thus fell on the women.

The *piquí* fruit (*tsinon*) was the most versatile food in the village during Quain's period of residence. The most important dish was boiled *piquí* pulp (*ka'jau*), which was placed in containers and stored in the waters of a pool in sufficient quantity to last until the end of the rainy season. *Piquí*, like most fruits, ripens and falls uniformly, making it necessary to gather the harvest all at once, and to prepare and store

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it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *xotet*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *xokotdomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarers*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

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264 Eating seemed to be casual, and it would be inaccurate to speak of "mealtimes." The time for eating was governed by what one happened to be doing on that day. While a person was in the village, he ate whenever food was offered, which occured frequently. If fishing was in order, the fishermen ate before and after their trip and also took food with them. Quain noticed that people usually ate on arising and, during the planting season, again upon returning from the gardens. Meals, then, were only an intensification of eating, occasioned by the return of people to the village. All the people of a household frequently ate at the same time, but the whole village seldom ate simultaneously. Meals involved little formality, and the Trumaí man often ate in his hammock between naps.

House Building

342 114 Unfortunately, Quain left few detailed drawings of houses or other aspects of material culture, and his descriptions are brief. Most of the data on material culture were gathered from his careful inventory of all the houses in the village. He was probably reserving the detailed documentation for the proposed return trip which he never made.

342 335 The first step in the construction of a house was to sink the two heavy center posts in a deep hole. The ridge pole was then set in place at the top of the center posts by raising it with forked sticks. A few men stood with the sticks at either end of the ridge pole, and each group in turn lifted and set the end on the center posts. A "water shed" (not well described by Quain but undoubtedly a cap of thatch) was placed over the ridge pole. The tops of the center posts were not notched to receive the ridge pole; instead, sticks were lashed on opposite sides of the two [283] center posts to form a fork in which the ridge pole was laid. All joining of the framework in the house was done with bark fiber. Wall posts, about four feet high, were set in the ground so as to form an elliptical floor plan around the center posts.

The next step was to lash on the curved longitudinal poles which join the wall posts to the ridge pole. Horizontal poles were tied across these and across the wall posts to form a frame for the thatch. Additional smaller poles could be added to give a tighter thatch frame. Thatching was sometimes started in one section before the frame had been entirely completed. The grass (*damok*) for thatch was gathered by the house-builders and brought back tied in bundles.

342 The roof was thatched first, but a section was often left incomplete until the rainy season. Quain was told by Maibu, the chief, that he would finish thatching his house after the rains began because the grass was longer then. In the case of one house, the thatching of the walls was started when the roof was nearly completed. While one builder

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531 Black zig-zags on a grayish background were painted on the body of one
302 of the singers. Many designs were undoubtedly conventionalized, but seemingly not according to rigid standards.

All of these designs were observed on men. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streacks on the thighs were most common. The latter looked as if the women had merely wiped their hands on their thighs after having painted their husbands.

Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests. One little girl had black angles painted on her cheek by her mother. Children's and women's body designs were simple and required little paint. The men reserved most of the paint for themselves.

A husband's painting was often done by his wife, but men frequently adorned themselves or another man, particularly a younger close relative. There may also have been specialized knowledge of certain designs. Only one man was said to be able to make the zig-zag snake pattern, and he painted it on the bodies of others.

Work Patterns

46 Accompanying the low degree of specialization and cooperation in
512 production was a lack of rhythm in the work habits of the Trumaí. The day started at about three or four o'clock in the morning. At this time many persons got out of their hammocks to fan their fires and huddle around them, for these were the chilliest hours. The men might get together at this time and talk while the women prepared food. Not much work was done then. At most, a man might add some thatch to his house. By sunrise everyone was awake, and the women went in a [515] body to a nearby arm of the lagoon to bathe and draw containers of water. The men usually went to bathe a little later in pairs or alone. After bathing, everyone ate, and the work day really began.

Those who intended to garden went out early and labored until ten or eleven o'clock, that is, while it was cool and insects were less troublesome. [264] As a rule, they ate again upon returning and then stayed in the village the rest of the day, working at various crafts as the spirit moved them. Actually a good deal of time was spent loafing and sleeping.

Those who planned to fish started out in the morning, but usually after the gardeners had departed. Unless a two or three day trip was planned, they commonly returned by four o'clock, and always before dark. Occasionally a group of men and women went to the lagoon to [258] spend a day or two making salt.

One of the striking features of Trumaí economic activity was the number of different tasks done by various people on the same day.

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piqui* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piqui* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along